

Naval War College Review

Volume 23
Number 6 *June*

Article 18

1970

Political Violence: the Behavioral Process

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Recommended Citation

Jewett, J.E. (1970) "Political Violence: the Behavioral Process," *Naval War College Review*: Vol. 23 : No. 6 , Article 18.
Available at: <https://digital-commons.usnwc.edu/nwc-review/vol23/iss6/18>

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published in 1962), a note on the extraterritorial regime in China (which came to an end before the Communist takeover of the mainland), and the texts or translations of the most important treaties and other documents discussed by the author. The international agreements of the People's Republic are considered under the categories of "Boundary Treaties," "Ambassadorial Talks," "Korean Armistice Agreement," "Fisheries Agreements," "Trade Agreements," "Economic Assistance," "Cultural Agreements," "Double Nationality," and "UNICEF." The bulk of the study is devoted to the first five categories, concerning which valuable materials little known in the United States are presented. These materials shed light not only on the performance of the agreements, but also on Communist China's practices with respect to negotiations and procedures which culminate in the conclusion of treaties.

All efforts to assess the degree to which a particular state has complied with its treaty obligations encounter major difficulties. First, charges and countercharges of treaty violations often ensue from differing interpretations of the treaties concerned or of international law rules governing the validity and termination of treaties. A scholar who tries to determine whether a treaty has been actually violated performs a quasi-judicial task without the benefits of a judicial procedure. Even judges in their decisions concerning such matters, moreover, cannot entirely escape the element of subjective appreciation. Second, treaty provisions and treaty violations vary greatly in the degree of their importance and magnitude. Should a minor violation of a technical provision be accorded the same weight as the outright repudiation of a major treaty obligation? If not, what should be the scale of relative importance? And, third, the record of compliance of a particular state with its treaty obligation is really significant

only in comparison with the records of other states. But the treaty compliance record of even the more important nations still remains to be compiled and studied. Dr. Lee has not entirely overcome these difficulties. His study, nevertheless, deserves some attention.

The author's tentative conclusions with respect to compliance with treaty obligations are generally favorable to the People's Republic (and, incidentally, also to the Nationalist Government in Taiwan). His judgment is perhaps not uncolored by his unconfessed desire to see an improvement in the relations between the United States and the People's Republic. An observer not linked to China by ties of blood and culture may cautiously conclude, on the basis of the admittedly incomplete evidence presented by Dr. Lee, that the record of compliance of Peiping with its treaty obligations is probably no worse, but also no better, than that of most other major powers. No state is likely to attach greater weight to legal obligations than to vital national interests.

O. J. LISSITZYN
Charles H. Stockton
Chair of International Law

Nieburg, Harold L. *Political Violence: the Behavioral Process*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1969. 184 p.

This book, an expansion of an original monograph written by the author for the National Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence, is a theoretical diagnosis of the conditions of political violence. It is an attempt to recognize the many dynamic social factors involved and the effect that the various kinds of political violence have on our society. Nieburg creates this model for reader understanding by defining the elements of the social bargaining process and their relevancy by criticizing some of today's common theories of the causes of political violence, by discussing the role of legiti-

110 NAVAL WAR COLLEGE REVIEW

macy (consensus) and legality with respect to social bargaining, by describing the impact of escalation on the necessary social reintegration, and lastly by relating how the individual plays his part either objectively (by participation) or subjectively (by identification of interests). In summary, the author draws a parallelism between our diplomacy of confrontation as a nation and domestic violence at home and the role that the Vietnamese war and the Black rebellion have played in each. The author gives no solutions as he states,

"It is a simple matter to make a theoretical diagnosis of the conditions of political violence [as he has done]. It is much more difficult to know, as a matter of practical policy, how to avoid social trials by ordeal." Although the book has greater appeal for the student of psychology, it is recommended for those who are interested in the underlying causes of present-day social unrest.

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In the wreck of the continent, and the disappointment of our hopes there, what has been the security of this country but its naval preponderance?

William Pitt: To the House of Commons, 2 February 1801